

Name.....

# Cold War 1945-1980

## Key Ideas

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## THE THINGS YOU SHOULD KNOW – KEY QUESTIONS

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# TOPIC 1

# Origins of the Cold War

**THE ANSWERS**

## TOPIC 1 – ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

### A. WHAT WERE THE IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES?

#### **Communism vs. Capitalism**

At the end of the Second World War in 1945, Russia and America were the best of friends, celebrating the defeat of Germany. However, even as they celebrated, in the background, these suspicions and divisions were beginning to grow...

The main reason for this, and the entire Cold War, was the political policies of the USSR and the USA. Capitalism and Communism are vastly different. If you need reminding, here are a few key differences:

<b>Capitalism</b>	<b>Communism</b>
<b>Private-owned businesses.</b>	State-owned businesses.
<b>Vast differences between rich and poor.</b>	Equality.
<b>Democracy</b>	Dictatorship

The USA feared that the USSR were trying to spread communism across the world, while the USSR feared America wished to destroy them. These fears fuelled the Cold War.

### B. WHAT WAS THE IMPACT OF HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI?

- Between 1941 and 1945, scientists at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, led by Robert Oppenheimer, worked on the Manhattan Project to make an atomic bomb.
- On 16 July 1945, the atomic bomb was successfully tested at Alamogordo, in New Mexico.
- The decision whether to drop it – almost as difficult as making the bomb – was taken by US President Harry S Truman.
- One reason Truman is said to have dropped the atomic bomb was to bring the war against Japan to a quick end. He said it was dropped to save American soldiers' lives.
- Some historians suspect Truman did not want to give the Soviets a chance to get involved in the Far East. Others feel that he was forced into a show of strength because of the threat to America posed by the USSR.
- On 6 August 1945 the first atomic bomb, codenamed 'Little Boy', was dropped on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. Three days later, a second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki.
- On 14 August 1945, the Japanese surrendered.
- The creation and use of the atomic bomb was truly a turning point in warfare. The atomic bomb changed international relations. The superpowers of the USA and the USSR did not dare to start a war where both sides had nuclear weapons



TOPIC 1 – ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

**C. WHAT WAS THE IMPACT OF THE YALTA CONFERENCE?**



**February 1945. Attended by: Churchill, Stalin, Roosevelt**

Context	WWII is clearly going to be won by the Allies, but the war with Japan is still some way off being won.
What they agreed on?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. U.S.S.R will join the U.N</li> <li>2. Germany will be divided into 4 zones- Britain, USA, U.S.S.R, France.</li> <li>3. Poland will have democratic elections</li> <li>4. Nazi-criminals will be brought to trial</li> <li>5. Eastern Europe will have democratic elections- this was called the Declaration of Liberated Europe.</li> <li>6. Eastern Europe would be a Russian 'sphere of interest'</li> <li>7. U.S.S.R will join the war in the pacific against Japan</li> <li>8. Stalin wanted to take some Polish territory. Churchill persuaded Roosevelt to accept this providing Stalin did not to interfere with Greece, where Britain was attempting to stop the Communists from taking over. Stalin accepted that.</li> </ol>
What they disagreed on?	They disagreed about what to do with Poland. Stalin wanted the border of the USSR to move westwards into Poland.
Summary	Largely a successful conference. Many things are agreed on.

**D. WHAT WAS THE IMPACT OF THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE?**



**July 1945. Attended by: Attlee, Stalin, Truman**

Context	Germany had surrendered in May 1945, the Americans had the Atomic bomb. The defeat of Japan was near. Truman comes to power and does not get on well with Stalin. After the German surrender, Stalin occupied much of Eastern Europe with his troops, and Poland had not been given free elections - Communist government had been set up in parts of Eastern Europe.
What they agreed on?	Nazi party banned, and any remaining Nazi war criminals will be put on trial. Germany would be divided into 4. Recognised the new Polish Unity Government which was hold hold free elections as soon as possible
What they disagreed on?	The size of reparations taken from Nazi. Stalin wants a huge sum, the West don't want a repeat of Versailles.
Summary	Truman reveals to Stalin that America has a new super-weapon (the atomic bomb). Tensions are mainly due to Poland becoming Communist, and the new leaders. Created new tensions in Europe as the USSR sought to expand beyond Eastern Europe.

## TOPIC 1 – ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

### E. WHAT WAS THE IRON CURTAIN?

#### **The Fulton Speech (Iron Curtain)**

In March 1946, Winston Churchill giving a speech, in Fulton, USA said that “From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an iron curtain has descended across the continent”. He also claimed that the Russians were intent on “indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines”.

His speech shocked both the West and the East. The U.S.S.R thought the speech was ‘virtually a declaration of war.’ The

Cold war had begun. Churchill’s Iron Curtain speech did not cause the Cold War, but he was the first person to stop pretending to be friends with Russia. After it, America and Russia became more openly hostile to each other.



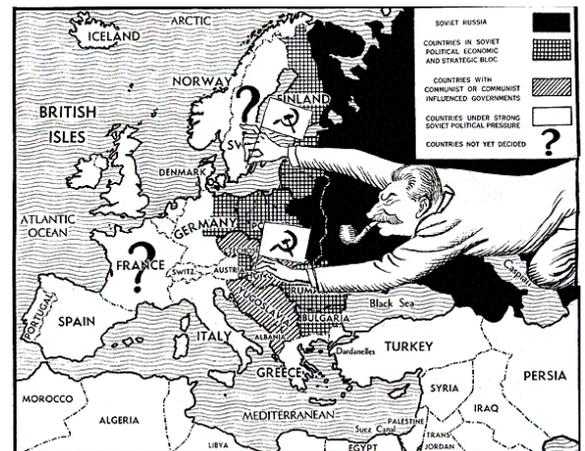
### F. HOW DID THE SOVIETS INTEND TO EXPAND?

#### **Salami Tactics: the Soviet takeover of Eastern Europe**

During 1946–47, Stalin made sure that Communist governments came to power in all the countries of Eastern Europe.

The Hungarian Communist Rakosi described this process as ‘slicing salami’ – gradually getting rid of all opposition, bit-by-bit. In this way, Russia gained control of:

- **Albania** (1945) – the Communists took power after the war without opposition
- **Bulgaria** (1945) – a communist dominated government was set up; the Communists then executed the leaders of all the other parties.
- **Yugoslavia** (1945) – a communist dominated government was set up under General Tito; Tito refused to follow orders from Russia and was expelled from the communist party.
- **Poland** (1947) – a new Polish government took power in 1945, but Stalin arrested all the non-Communist leaders in 1945, and after a rigged election the Communists took power. The Russians kept control of East Poland.
- **Romania** (1945–1947) – a communist dominated government was elected in 1945; the Communists gradually took over control.
- **Hungary** (1947) – a communist dominated government was elected in 1945; All other political parties were banned.



## TOPIC 1 – ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

- **Czechoslovakia** (1945–48) a communist dominated government was set up in 1945. It was not until 1948 that the Communists banned all other parties and killed their leaders.
- **East Germany** (1949) – the Russian turned their zone of Germany into the German Democratic Republic in 1949.

### G. WHY WAS THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE IMPLEMENTED?

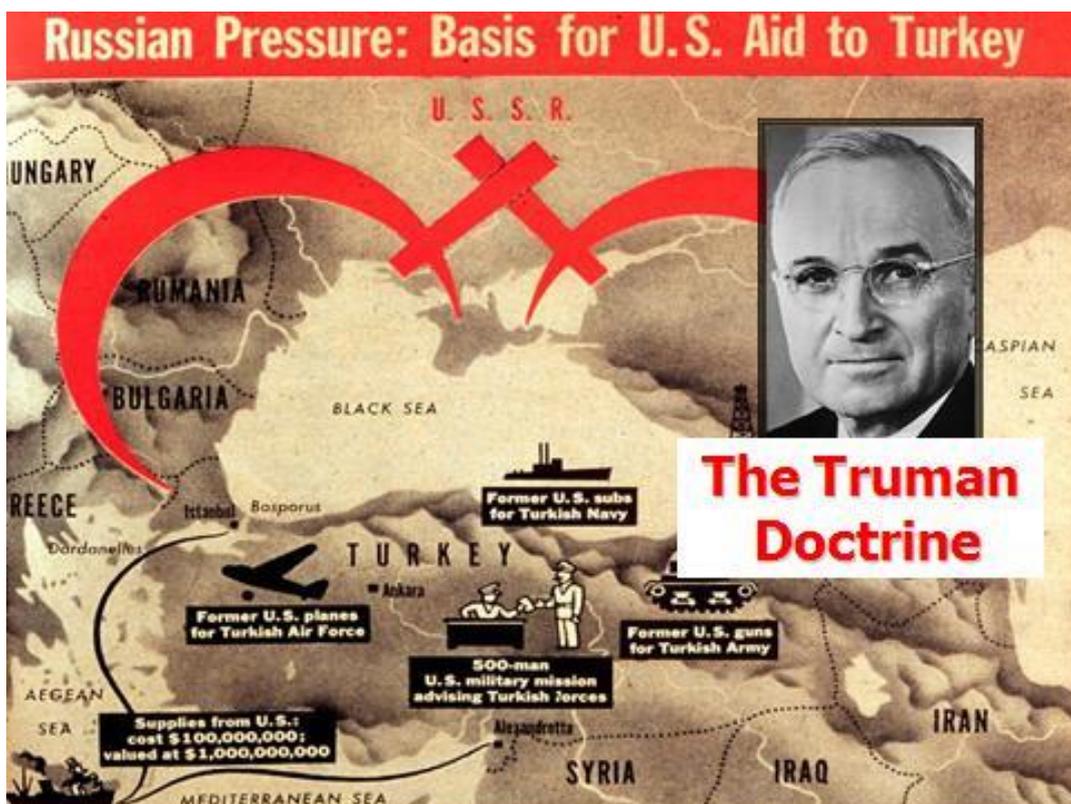
#### Greece and Turkey

By 1946, Greece and Czechoslovakia were the only countries in Eastern Europe that weren't Communist. In Greece there was a civil war between the Monarchists and the Communists. The British had soldiers there supporting the Monarchists. In February 1947, the British told Truman they could no longer afford to keep their soldiers in Greece.

#### Truman Doctrine

In the 1930s, America had kept out of Europe's business but on **12 March 1947**, Truman declared that it was America's DUTY to interfere *'Every nation must choose between different ways of life ... We must help free peoples to work out their own destiny in their own way.'* *President Truman, speaking in March 1947*

His policy, which became known as the 'Truman Doctrine, was not to try to destroy the USSR, but stop it growing any more. It was one of 'containment'. Therefore The USA paid for the British soldiers in Greece and because Truman believed that Turkey was also in danger from Soviet aggression aid was given to Turkey as well.



TOPIC 1 – ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

**H. HOW WAS MARSHALL AID USED BY THE USA?**

**The Marshall Plan**

A key part of the Truman's doctrine was Marshall Aid.

What was it?	Money, goods and equipment given to Europe to help it recover from WWII. \$17 billion was proposed to be given over 5 years.
Why did the USA offer this?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• America needed a strong European economy to trade with</li><li>• America was worried a weak Europe would be more likely to fall to Communism. General Marshall said that every country in Europe was so poor that it was in danger of turning Communist! Europe was 'a breeding ground of hate'.</li><li>• In February 1948, the Communists took power in Czechoslovakia. Congress was scared, and voted for Marshall Aid on 31 March 1948.</li></ul>
Who could receive it?	America offered it to all European countries, including the Eastern Bloc.
Who did receive it?	16 countries- the main ones Britain, France, Italy and West Germany. Czechoslovakia and Poland were interested, but under intense pressure from Stalin, did not accept.

**I. HOW WAS MARSHALL AID REPONDED TO BY THE USSR?**

**How did the USSR respond to the Marshall Plan?**

The simple answer is with great suspicion. In particular, the fact that America was giving money to West Germany was met with disbelief. The Soviet Union hated Marshall Aid Stalin and forbade Communist countries to ask for money. Instead, it responded in October 1947 by setting up the Cominform.

What was it?	Every Communist party in Europe joined. It allowed Stalin control of the Communists in Europe. The Cominform regularly brought the leaders of each Communist Party to Moscow to be briefed. This also allowed Stalin to keep a close eye on them.
Why?	Stalin wanted uniformity amongst the Communist countries, and this was a good way to keep control.
How successful was it?	It was quite effective at achieving a united Communist front. The only Communist leader who escaped this close control was Tito in Yugoslavia. He resented being controlled by Cominform and was expelled for his hostility in 1948.

In January 1949 Stalin set up the **COMECON**

What was it?	A Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
Why?	A response to the Marshall plan, to try and strengthen the Soviet block control.
How successful was it?	It did work - Eastern Europe slowly recovered, but no-where near as fast as the West- the U.S.S.R. It was used to extract money from other Eastern Bloc countries

## TOPIC 1 – ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

### J. HOW DID YUGOSLAVIA REMAIN OUTSIDE OF THE USSR? WHAT WAS THE EFFECT?

- The Yugoslav government allied with the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin and early on in the Cold War shot down two American airplanes flying in Yugoslav airspace on 9 and 19 August 1946. These were the first aerial shoot downs of western aircraft during the Cold War and caused deep distrust of Tito in the United States and even calls for military intervention against Yugoslavia.
- Yugoslavia gave assistance to Greece during the civil war, in terms of arms and ammunition, supplies, military experts and even allowed the Greek forces to use Yugoslav territory as a safe haven.
- As Yugoslavia was independent it often clashed with Russia.
- The Soviets accused the Yugoslavians of offending Communism.
- Cominform held a session on 28 June 1948 in Bucharest almost completely dedicated to the "Yugoslav issue".
- Cominform members expelled Yugoslavia.
- After the break with the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia found itself economically and politically isolated.
- Tito began making amends to the United States and the West. The West welcomed the Yugoslav-Soviet rift and in 1949 commenced a flow of economic aid under the Marshall Plan. The United States began shipping weapons to Yugoslavia in 1951.
- The American response in the Korean War serving as an example of the West's commitment, Stalin began backing down from war with Yugoslavia.



**K. WHY DID THE BERLIN BLOCKADE HAPPEN?**

**The Berlin Blockade**

**What caused it?**

1. **Cold War.** A cold war was just getting started as suspicion and fear grew between the USA and the USSR. The Berlin Blockade just an episode in this war between the two 'Superpowers'. Stalin had been taking over Eastern Europe by salami tactics and Czechoslovakia had just turned Communist (March 1948). On the other side, the USA had adopted the Truman Doctrine to 'contain' the USSR and offered Marshall aid to Europe.
2. **Aims.** The USA and the USSR had different **Aims** for Germany. Stalin wanted to destroy Germany, and had been stripping East Germany of its wealth and machinery. On the other side, the allies wanted to rebuild Germany' as a wealthy trading partner (so as not to repeat the mistake of Versailles).
3. **Bizonia.** The Russians were taking German machinery back to the USSR. In January 1947, Britain and the USA joined their two zones together to try to get German industry going. They called the new zone Bi-zonia ('two zones'). The Russians realised that Britain and the USA were beginning to create a new, strong Germany, and they were angry.
4. **American Aid.** Congress voted for Marshall Aid on 31 March 1948. Stalin (rightly) saw this as an attempt to undermine Russian influence in Eastern Europe. Immediately, the Russians started searching all road and rail traffic into Berlin.
5. **Uniting West Germany.** On 1 June 1948, the allies announced that they wanted to create the new country of West Germany; Stalin believed that making any decisions about Germany without consulting him went against the agreements of the Potsdam Conference.
6. **New Currency.** 23 June the allies introduced a new currency into 'Bizonia' and western Berlin. People in Eastern Europe began to change all their money into the new currency, which they thought was worth more. The next day the Russians stopped all road and rail traffic into Berlin. Stalin defended his actions by stating he was simply protecting East Germany which was being ruined by the new currency introduced in the West.

**KEY DETAIL**

- The blockade lasted 11 months. In total 275,000 flights carried in 1½ million tons of supplies. A plane landed every 3 minutes.
- At first Berliners lived on dried potatoes, powdered eggs and cans of meat. They had only 4 hours of electricity a day. Stalin offered the inhabitants extra rations if they moved to East Berlin, but only 2% did so.
- Things got better as the blockade went on and as many as 1400 flights brought in 13,000 tons of supplies in one day. Soviet placed weather balloons were placed in the flight paths but dared not shoot down the planes. The USA stationed B-29 bombers (which could carry an atomic bomb) in Britain.
- By 12 May 1949, it was clear that the blockade would never work, and Stalin re-opened the borders. The airlift had cost the US \$200 million.

# TOPIC 2

# Development of the Cold War

**THE ANSWERS**

## TOPIC 2 – DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLD WAR

### **A. HOW DID SUPPORT OF THE USSR AND USA CHANGE THE CHINESE REVOLUTION?**

After the end of World War II, the U.S. continued their military assistance to Chiang Kai-shek (Capitalist) and his KMT government forces against the People's Liberation Army (PLA) led by Mao Zedong (Communist) during the civil war. Likewise, the Soviet Union gave support to Mao by their occupation of north east China.

In the early morning of December 10, 1949, PLA troops laid siege to Chongqing and Chengdu on mainland China, and Chiang Kai-shek fled from the mainland to Taiwan

#### **Leadership of China**

In October 1949, Mao founded the People's Republic of China. He now faced very large problems. China had been fighting a civil war since the 1920's and a full-scale war with the Japanese since 1937 to 1945. After nearly 20 years of fighting, China now many problems;

- The country had little industry. What had existed had been destroyed after so many years of war.
- Money was valueless.
- The towns had high unemployment.
- The countryside was experiencing food shortages; and if the countryside was not producing food, then the cities were bound to be short of food as well.
- China's population was increasing by 14 million a year which would only make all shortages worse.

Immediately after the Communist Party came to power, landlords were rounded up to account for what they had done. The Communist Party encouraged the peasants to take over the land and to try "evil landowners". Many former landlords were guilty of many crimes against peasants on their former land and it is thought that as many as 1 million ex-landlords were executed between 1949 and 1953. Those not executed were sent to special camps to be re-educated. By 1951, the land revolution had ended.

## B. WHY WAS NATO FORMED?

AFTER THE BERLIN BLOCKADE....

1. **The Cold War got worse.** It had almost started an all-out war.
2. **East and West Germany** split up. In May 1949, America, Britain and France united their zones into the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). In October 1949, Stalin set up the German Democratic Republic (East Germany).
3. **NATO and the Warsaw Pact**

In 1949, the Allies set up NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation). This was an agreement amongst the Western allies that an attack against one of them was an attack against all of them. NATO countries surrounded Russia. It was a determined attempt to stop the spread of communism. Stalin responded by setting up the Warsaw Pact – an alliance of Communist states.

4. **Arms Race**

After Berlin, the USA and the USSR realised that they were in a competition for world domination. They began to build up their armies and weapons.



## C. WHAT TRIGGERED THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AND WHY WAS IT IMPORTANT?

### **Nuclear Arms Race**

The dropping of the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 started the nuclear arms race between the two superpowers. This became a major theme of the Cold War. People began to believe that the more nuclear weapons you had, the more powerful you were as a country. The nuclear arms race was how the USA and the USSR made sure that they did not get left behind in the number of nuclear weapons they possessed. This



competition became very expensive for both countries as they tried to increase their stockpiles of nuclear weapons and develop deadlier and more effective weapons.

Until 1949, the USA had the advantage: the USSR would not risk a war against the USA because of the destructive power of the bomb. In 1949, the USSR exploded its first atomic bomb. The

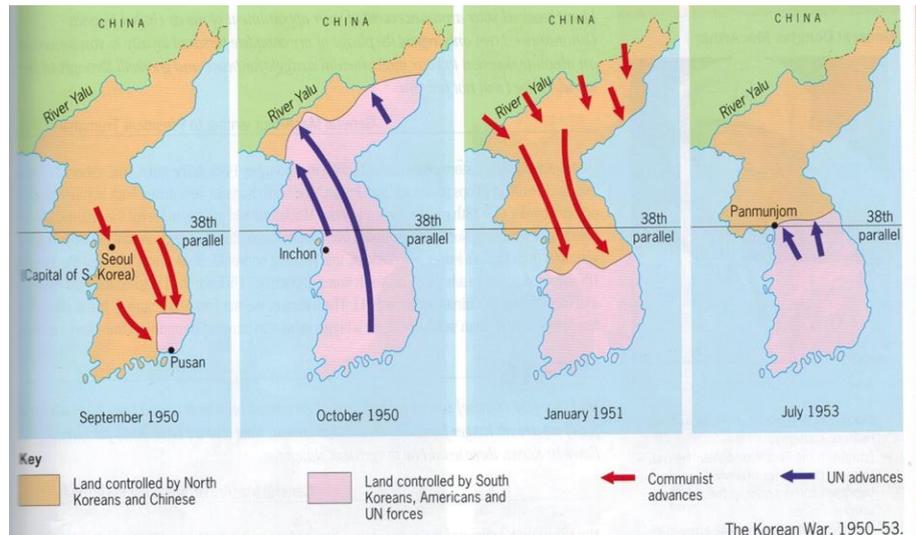
hydrogen bomb, a more powerful bomb that could destroy the whole of Moscow was successfully tested next by the Americans in 1952. This bomb was much smaller but more than 2,000 times more powerful. The Soviets responded with their own H-bomb in 1953. Both countries continued this race to protect themselves.

## TOPIC 2 – DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLD WAR

### D. WHY WAS THE KOREAN WAR IMPORTANT? WHAT WAS THE IMPACT?

#### The Korean War

At the end of WWII, Korea was freed from Japanese control. North Korea was occupied by Soviet soldiers whilst South Korea was occupied by American soldiers. It was agreed that there should be free elections and Korea should be united in the future. However, by 1948 this seemed impossible as the two states had now been established and were divided by the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel.



1. In 1945, North and South Korea were divided by the 38th Parallel. The Soviet Union controlled the North, and US the South
2. In 1948, Syngman Rhee was elected president of South Korea; Kim Il-Sung was established as leader of North Korea by the Soviets.
3. In June 1950, Kim Il-Sung invaded South Korea. He wanted to unite North and South Korea, and had military support from the Soviet Union and China.
4. By September 1950 North Korean forces had captured the capital of South Korea, Seoul
5. When North Korea invaded South Korea, the United Nations and United States wanted to prevent South Korea from being taken over by the communists
6. US troops, led by General MacArthur, launched a counter attack and by the beginning of October 1950, the North Koreans had been driven back across the 38th Parallel
7. At the end of October 1950, UN and US troops had pushed into North Korea and captured the capital, Pyongyang and Seoul in 1951.
8. With the support of the Chinese, the North managed to launch an attack and capture Seoul back.
9. MacArthur wanted to invade further but Truman rejected this idea in fear of an all out war.
10. In July 1951, General MacArthur was fired by President Truman for disobeying orders – he had wanted to use nuclear weapons against the North Koreans.
11. July 1951-July 1953 – Negotiations took place for a ceasefire. While these negotiations took place fighting continued.
12. By the end of the war in July 1953, 2 million Korean civilians, 1.5 million communist troops, 400,000 South Korean troops and 30,000 US troops had been killed

Finally, an agreement was made that Korea would remain divided along the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel.

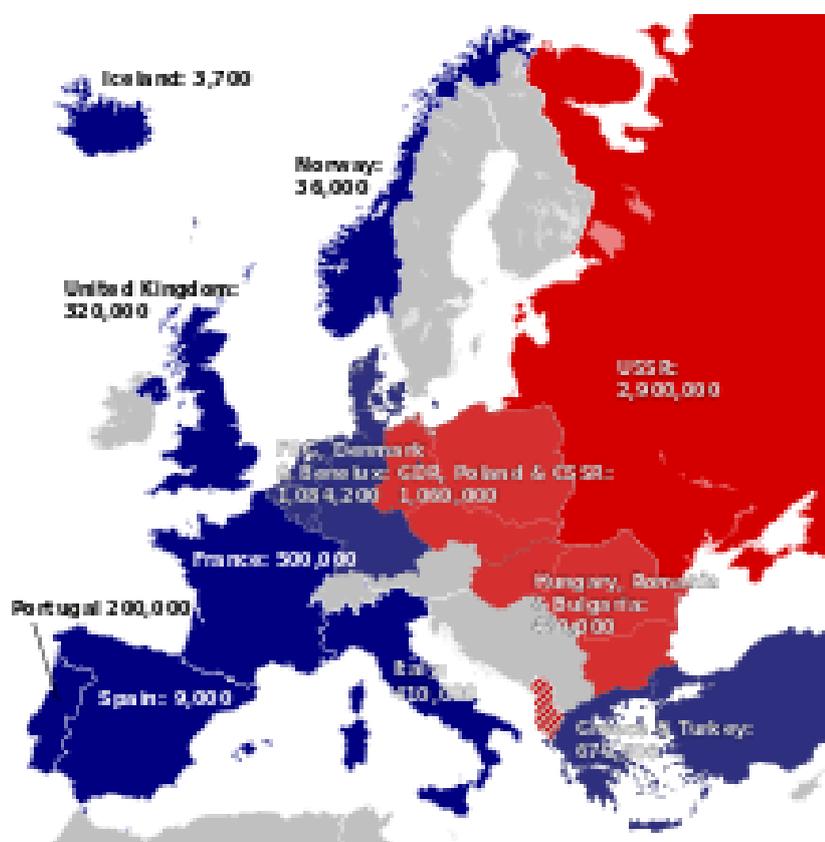
## TOPIC 2 – DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLD WAR

### E. WHAT WAS THE 'THAW'? WHY WAS IT IMPORTANT?

- Joseph Stalin died in 1953. After his death there was a power struggle to decide who would become leader of the USSR.
- The winner was Nikita Khrushchev. He appeared to be less aggressive than Stalin had been and spoke of 'peaceful co-existence' which meant living in peace with the West.
- He criticised Stalin for being a dictator at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party.
- The West saw signs which looked hopeful from Khrushchev. He seemed to be encouraging more freedom for the people in the USSR.
- When he visited Warsaw in 1956 he also indicated that the Poles should have more freedom, Khrushchev appeared to be a lot less hostile toward the West than Stalin had been.

### F. WHAT WERE THE TERMS OF THE WARSAW PACT? WHY WAS IT IMPORTANT?

- The main aim of The Warsaw Pact was the idea of collective security.
- It was a military alliance for a mutual defence. It was set up to oppose NATO. The USSR took the lead role and the forces of involved countries were placed under the control of a Soviet commander and troops were placed in the countries.
- It was used to the USSR's advantage and meant that the Soviets would be able to prevent the Soviet satellite states from leaving Soviet Control.
- The Warsaw Pact showed that there was still tension between countries even though there had been a thaw in the Cold War.



**G. WHY WAS THE HUNGARIAN RISING? WHAT WAS THE IMPACT?**

**Causes of the Hungarian Revolution**

1. Khrushchev's policy of '**de-Stalinisation**' caused problems in many Eastern European Communist countries, where people hated the hard-line Stalinist regimes that Russia had put in place. There was also trouble in Poland in 1956, and Khrushchev had to send in Russian troops.
2. The Hungarians were **patriotic**, and they **hated** Russian control, especially:
  - The secret police called the AVH in Hungary.
  - Russian control of the economy, which had made Hungary poor.
  - Russian control of what the schools taught.
  - Censorship and lack of freedom.
3. The Hungarians were **religious**, but the Communist Party had **banned** religion, and imprisoned Cardinal Mindszenty.
4. Hungarians thought that the United Nations or the new US president, Eisenhower, would **help them**

**Hungarian revolution**

1. The death of Stalin led many Hungarians to hope that Hungary also would be 'de-Stalinised'. In July 1956, the 'Stalinist' Secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party, Rakosi, fell from power.
2. During October 1956, students, workers and soldiers in Hungary attacked the AVH (the secret police) and Russian soldiers, and smashed a statue of Stalin.
3. On 24 October 1956 Imre Nagy - a moderate and a westerniser - took over as prime minister.
4. Nagy asked Khrushchev to move the Russian troops out. Khrushchev agreed and on 28 October 1956, the Russian army pulled out of Budapest.
5. For five days, there was freedom in Hungary. The new Hungarian government introduced democracy, freedom of speech, and freedom of religion. Cardinal Mindszenty, the leader of the Catholic Church, was freed from prison.
6. Then, on 3 November 1956, Nagy announced that Hungary was going to leave the Warsaw Pact. However, Khrushchev was not going to allow this. He claimed he had received a letter from Hungarian Communist leaders asking for his help.
7. At dawn on 4 November 1956, 1,000 Russian tanks rolled into Budapest. They destroyed the Hungarian army and captured Hungarian Radio the last words broadcast were "Help! Help! Help!".
8. Hungarian people - even children - fought the Russian troops with machine guns. Some 4,000 Hungarians were killed.
9. Khrushchev put in Russian supporter, Janos Kadar, as prime minister.

**Effects of the Hungarian Revolution**

1. **Repression in Hungary** - thousands of Hungarians were arrested and imprisoned. Some were executed and 200,000 Hungarian refugees fled to Austria.
2. **Russia stayed in control behind the Iron Curtain** - no other country tried to get rid of Russia troops until Czechoslovakia in 1968.
3. **Polarisation of the Cold War** - people in the West were horrified - many Communists left the Communist Party - and Western leaders became more determined to contain communism.

## TOPIC 2 – DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLD WAR

### **H. WHY DID THE SPACE RACE HAPPEN? WHAT WAS THE EFFECT?**

- The Space Race was a competition of space exploration between the United States and Soviet Union.
- In 1955 both the USA and USSR began to launch ballistic missiles into space, attempting to be the first to reach outer space.
- In 1957, Russia launched Sputnik 1; the first earth orbiting satellite.
- USA responded with Vanguard, which was unsuccessful and nicknamed Dudnik and Stayputnik.
- In 1957 the Soviets put the first dog in space on Sputnik 2.
- In 1958 the USA announced that it planned to launch earth circulating satellites.
- Soviets respond 4 days later and state that they too will launch earth orbiting satellites.
- Eisenhower the president of the USA states that satellites coming within 62 miles of earth will violate that country's airspace.
- Soviets put the first man into space in 1961; Yuri Gagarin on the Vostok 1.
- USA puts the first man on the moon in 1968 on Apollo 11.
- Both countries tried to create ICBMs (Intercontinental ballistic missiles) which could be used to deploy nuclear weapons on another continent. This was largely unsuccessful but posed a threat.
- Eventually the USA had 8,000 ICBM's and USSR 7,000 ICBM's
- By the end of the 60s both sides had developed Anti Ballistic Missile systems (ABM) to counteract the ICBMs
- Troops: NATO had 2.6 million, Warsaw Pact had 4 million
- It involved efforts to explore outer space with artificial satellites, to send humans into space, and to land people on the Moon.



## TOPIC 2 – DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLD WAR

### I. HOW DID THE U2 INCIDENT ACCELERATE THE COLD WAR?

#### **The U2 incident and the Paris summit of 1960**

By the end of the 1950s, there was **massive** tension in the Cold War:

- The **arms race** - both sides accepted the need for some kind of Nuclear Test Ban treaty.
- **Berlin** - the Russians were furious that many East Germans were fleeing to the west through West Berlin.
- **Cuba** - the Americans were worried because Fidel Castro, a Communist, had seized power there in 1959.
- A **summit** meeting was arranged for Paris to try to sort things out.

On **1st May 1960 - thirteen days before the summit** - an American U2 spy plane was **shot down** over Russia and the pilot, Gary Powers, was captured. At first, the Americans tried to say that it was a **weather plane**, but they were forced to admit that it was a **spy plane** when the Russians revealed that much of his plane had survived, and that they had captured Gary Powers alive.

When the summit met on 14 May, the first thing Khrushchev did was to demand that the US president, Eisenhower, **apologise**. When Eisenhower refused, Khrushchev went home.

The Cold War had just become substantially **more** dangerous.

#### **Effects of the U2 incident**

1. The Paris meeting **collapsed** and there was no Test Ban Treaty.
2. There was **no discussion** about the problem of Berlin - which, ultimately, led to the Berlin Wall.
3. The incident was seen as a **defeat for the US** - so they elected John F Kennedy as president because he promised to get tougher with the Russians.



## TOPIC 2 – DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLD WAR

### **J. HOW DID THE USA USE THE VIETNAM WAR TO CONFRONT THE USSR?**

- China had fallen to communism in 1949, and America had fought in Korea in 1950-53 to contain the spread of communism.
- The US president, Lyndon B. Johnson, said: "I am not going to be the president who saw South-East Asia go the way China went."
- Americans believed that, if South Vietnam fell, Laos, Cambodia and Thailand - and then Burma and India - would follow.
- President Johnson said: "If you let a bully come into your garden, the next day he'll be in your porch, and the day after that he'll rape your wife."
- It was obvious the South Vietnamese could not resist communist infiltration by the Vietcong without help.
- In 1963, the US supported a military coup, which murdered Diem and put a military government in South Vietnam.
- In August 1964, sailors on the American warship USS Maddox in the Gulf of Tonkin claimed they had been attacked by North Vietnamese torpedo boats. The US Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, allowing the American President Lyndon B. Johnson to take direct military action in retaliation.
- In February 1965, the Vietcong attacked American air bases and killed American soldiers. President Johnson declared war against North Vietnam.

### **K. HOW DID THE USSR USE THE VIETNAM WAR TO CONFRONT THE USA?**

- As the United States provided aid and support to South Vietnam, China and the Soviet Union did the same for North Vietnam, though the nature and extent of this support is not fully known.
- The period 1946-49 was one of co-operation between Chinese communists and the Viet Minh. This continued after the communist victory in China (1949) in the form of military aid and support with policies and rebuilding.
- The Soviet Union, in contrast, paid little regard to the situation in Vietnam. Stalin urged China to assist with the supply and development of North Vietnam, which it did through the 1950s.
- Seeking to avoid direct involvement in Asia, Moscow urged the North Vietnamese to accept the terms of the Geneva Accords (1954). Soviet interest in Vietnam increased later, under new leader Aleksei Kosygin.
- By the late 1960s Moscow had become North Vietnam's main benefactor, providing most of its aid and equipment. The Sino-Soviet split in this period forced North Vietnam to align closely with Moscow.

# TOPIC 3

# Transformation of the Cold War

**THE ANSWERS**

### TOPIC 3 – TRANSFORMATION OF THE COLD WAR

#### A. WHY DID THE USSR BUILD THE BERLIN WALL?

- Each day thousands moved freely between the Soviet and Western sectors.
- Berlin was 100 miles inside Soviet controlled communist East Germany. Berlin was encircled by East Germany. West Berlin was isolated with East Germany surrounding it.
- There was a growing contrast between life in the East and life in the West. The Western sector of Berlin was a showcase of capitalism. In West Berlin and West Germany, rebuilding boomed.
- In the East, the economic situation was drastically poorer than the West, with shortages of food and housing, as well as the restrictions of individual freedoms.
- More than 3 million people (2000 per day left East Germany for a better life in the West. By 1961, the Communist government knew it had to stop the exodus.
- Many of those who escaped were young, trained professionals. By the early 1960s, East Germany was rapidly losing both its labour force and its population.
- At the Vienna Summit of June 1961, therefore, Khrushchev demanded that the US **leave** West Berlin within six months. Kennedy refused and instead guaranteed West Berlin's freedom.

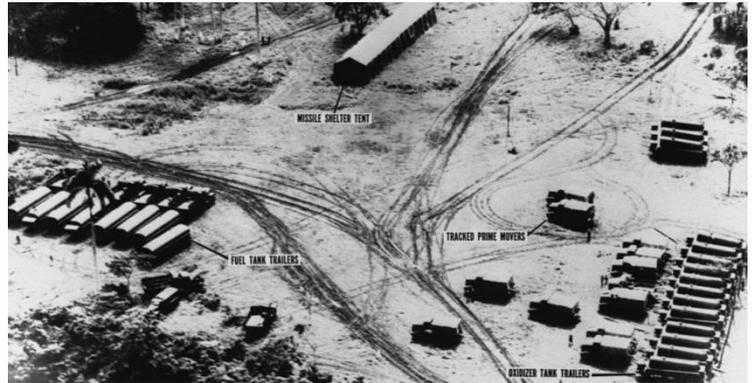


- On August 13 1961, the East German Police force used barbed wire to swiftly seal off most of the places that people could cross over into West Berlin. The troops then began building a wall of concrete blocks.
- The Berlin Wall stretched over a hundred miles. It ran not only through the centre of Berlin, but also wrapped around West Berlin, entirely cutting West Berlin off from the rest of East Germany.
- Armed soldiers patrolled the Wall and would shoot anyone attempting to escape. There were ditches, barbed wire, guard dogs, powerful searchlights and minefields. Buildings overlooking the Wall were demolished or had their windows bricked up so that people could not jump from them.
- Although the wall was a success for the communist East Germans and the USSR it was an embarrassment and looked to the rest of the world as if they had to keep their people as prisoners to ensure that they lived there. This was a propaganda victory for the Western Powers.

TOPIC 3 – TRANSFORMATION OF THE COLD WAR

**B. WHY DID THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS HAPPEN?**

After the Bay of Pigs fiasco, Soviet arms flooded into Cuba. In May 1962, the Soviet Union announced publically for the first time that it was supplying Cuba with arms. By July 1962, Cuba had the best-equipped army in Latin America. By September it had thousands of Soviet missiles, plus patrol boats, tanks, radar vans, missile erectors, jet bombers, jet fighters and 5,000 Soviet technicians to help to maintain the weapons.



The Americans watched all this with great alarm. They seemed ready to tolerate conventional arms being supplied to Cuba, but the big question was whether the Soviet Union would dare to put nuclear missiles there. In September, Kennedy’s own Intelligence Department said that it did not believe the USSR would send nuclear weapons to Cuba. The USSR had not taken this step with any of its satellite states before the US Intelligent Department believed that the USSR would consider it too risky to do it in Cuba. On 11<sup>th</sup> September, Kennedy warned the USSR that he would *prevent ‘by whatever means necessary’* Cuba’s becoming an offensive military base – by which, everyone knew, he meant a nuclear missile base. The same day the USSR assured the USA that it had no need to put nuclear missiles on Cuba and no intention of doing so.

**The crisis: October 1962**

On Sunday, 14<sup>th</sup> October 1962, an American spy plane flew over Cuba. It took amazingly detailed photographs of missile sites in Cuba. To the military experts two things were obvious – that these were nuclear missile sites, and that they were being built by the USSR. More photo reconnaissance followed over the next two days. This confirmed that some sites were nearly finished but that others were still being built. Some were already supplied with missiles, others were awaiting them. The experts said that the most developed of the sites could be ready to launch missiles in just seven days. American spy planes also reported that 20 soviet ships were currently on the way to Cuba carrying missiles.

**Kennedy’s decision to act**

On Tuesday 16<sup>th</sup> October, JFK was informed of the discovery. He formed a special team of advisers called Ex Comm. They came up with several choices:

Options	Disadvantages
<b>Full invasion of Cuba</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Loss of US soldiers</li> <li>• Complete breakdown in relations with USSR....possibly nuclear war?</li> <li>• American public split on an invasion.</li> </ul>
<b>Air strike on bases</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• You’re seen by the rest of the world as the aggressor</li> <li>• Remember ...If Kennedy doesn’t hit all the missiles then they can be launched at the US.</li> </ul>
<b>Blockade</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Complete breakdown in relations with USSR....Possibly nuclear war?</li> </ul>
<b>Do nothing</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It would be unpopular with the American public to do nothing.</li> <li>• He cannot allow a Russian nuclear base to be built on his doorstep</li> </ul>

**C. WHAT WAS THE RESPONSE TO THE CRISIS?**

**The events of the crisis, what came next:**

**Tues 16<sup>th</sup> October:** JFK is informed of the missile build-up. Ex Comm informed

**Sat 20<sup>th</sup> October:** Kennedy decides on a blockade of Cuba

**Mon 22<sup>nd</sup> October:** Kennedy announces the blockade and calls on the Soviet Union to withdraw its missiles. *'I call on Chairman Khrushchev to halt and eliminate this reckless and provocative threat to world peace...he has the opportunity now to move the world back from the abyss of destruction...withdrawing these weapons from Cuba'*.

**Tues 23<sup>rd</sup> October:** Kennedy receives a letter from Khrushchev saying that Soviet ships will not observe the blockade. Khrushchev does not admit the presence of nuclear missiles on Cuba.

**Wed 24<sup>th</sup> October:** The blockade begins. The first missile carrying ships, accompanied by a soviet submarine, approach the 500 mile blockade zone. Then suddenly, at 10:32 am, the 20 Soviet ships which are closest to the zone stop and turn around.

**Thurs 25<sup>th</sup> October:** Despite this, intensive aerial photograph reveals that work on the missile bases in Cuba is proceeding rapidly

**Fri 26<sup>th</sup> October:** Kennedy receives a long personal letter from Khrushchev. The letter claims that the missiles on Cuba are purely defensive, but goes on: *'if assurances were given that the USA would not participate in an attack on Cuba and the blockade was lifted, then the question of the removal or the destruction of the missile sites would be an entirely different question'*. This is the first time Khrushchev has admitted the presence of the missiles.

**Sat 27<sup>th</sup> October am:** Khrushchev sends a second letter – revising his proposals – saying that the condition for removing the missiles from Cuba is that the USA withdraw its missiles from Turkey

**Sat 27<sup>th</sup> October pm:** Kennedy decides to delay an attack. He also decides to ignore the second Khrushchev letter, but accepts the terms suggested by Khrushchev on the 26<sup>th</sup> October. He says that if the Soviet Union does not withdraw, an attack will follow.

**Sun 28<sup>th</sup> October:** Khrushchev replies to Kennedy: *'In order to eliminate as rapidly as possible the conflict which endangers the cause of peace...the Soviet government has given a new order to dismantle the arms which you described as offensive and to crate and return them to the Soviet Union'*.

**Sun 28<sup>th</sup> October:** Kennedy announces the end of the crisis.



**Consequences**

The highly tense diplomatic exchange that followed was plagued by delays caused by slow and tedious communication systems. In 1963, John F. Kennedy becomes the first U.S. president to have a direct phone line to the Kremlin in Moscow. The “hotline” was designed to facilitate communication between the president and Soviet premier.

In addition in 1968, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was signed - the superpowers promised not to supply nuclear technology to other countries. This became an international treaty and on 11 May 1995, the Treaty was extended indefinitely. A total of 191 states have joined the Treaty.

**D. WHY DID THE PRAGUE SPRING HAPPEN?**

**The problems:**

In the 1960's a new mood developed in Czechoslovakia. People examined what had been happening in 20 years of Communist control and they did not like what they saw. In 1967, the old Stalinist leader was forced to resign. Alexander Dubcek became the leader of the Czech Communist Party. He proposed a policy of 'socialism with a human face': less censorship, more freedom of speech and a reduction in the activities of the secret police. Dubcek was a committed Communist, but he believed that Communism did not have to be as restrictive as it had been before he came to power. He had learned the lessons of the Hungarian uprising and reassured Brezhnev that Czechoslovakia had no plans to pull out of the Warsaw Pact or COMECON.

**The Prague Spring:**

The Czech opposition was led by intellectuals who felt that the Communists had failed to lead the country forward. As censorship had been eased, they were able to launch attacks on the Communist leadership, pointing out how corrupt and useless they were. Communist government ministers were 'grilled' on live television and radio about how they were running the country and about events before 1968. This period became known as the 'Prague Spring' because of all the new ideas that seemed to be appearing everywhere.

By the summer, even more radical ideas were emerging. There was even talk of allowing another political party, the Social Democratic Party, to be set up as a rival to the Communist Party.

**Soviet response:**

Czechoslovakia was one of the most important countries in the Warsaw Pact: it was centrally placed; and had the strongest industry. The Soviets didn't want their ideas to spread so... To start with, the USSR tried to slow Dubcek down. It argued with him. Soviet, Polish and East German troops performed very public training exercises right on the Czech border. It thought about imposing economic sanctions but didn't because it thought that the Czechs would ask for help from the West.

In July, the USSR had a summit conference with the Czechs. Dubcek agreed not to allow a new Social Democratic Party. However, he insisted on keeping most of his reforms. The tension seemed to ease. Early in August, a conference of all the other Warsaw Pact countries produced a vague declaration simply calling on Czechoslovakia to maintain political stability. However, 17 days later, on 20<sup>th</sup> August 1968, to the stunned amazement of the Czechs and the outside world, Soviet tanks moved into Czechoslovakia.

**Response and outcome:**

There was little violent resistance, although many Czechs refused to co-operate with the Soviet troops. They became resentful to Soviet rule and 250,000 people emigrated after 1968. As for Dubcek, he was removed from power. His experiment in socialism with a human face had not failed; it had simply proved unacceptable to the other Communist countries. Even from the West, there was little opposition. Yes they disapproved of Soviet action but they did nothing as Czechoslovakia wasn't a threat to the USA or NATO.

Czechoslovakia returned to strict communist rule. The Prague Spring, once again, poisoned East-West relations. The USSR had shown the West that it could not tolerate losing any part of its control over Eastern Europe. Members of the Warsaw Pact saw that trying to move away from official Soviet policies would not be tolerated and any variation from their rule was disallowed.

**E. HOW DID THE EVENT CHANGE EAST-WEST RELATIONS**

***The Brezhnev Doctrine***

The Prague Spring gave rise to the Brezhnev doctrine. The essentials of communism were defined as:

- A one-party system
- To remain a member of the Warsaw Pact.

Unlike Nagy in Hungary, Dubcek was not executed. But he was gradually downgraded. First, he was sent to be an ambassador of Turkey, and then expelled from the Communist party altogether. Photographs showing him as leader were 'censored'.

Before the Soviet invasion, Czechoslovakia's mood had been one of optimism. After, it was despair. A country that had been pro-soviet now became resentful of the Soviet connection. Ideas that could have reformed Communism were silenced.

Twenty years later, Mikhail Gorbachev, the leader of the USSR, questioned the invasion, and was himself spreading the ideas of the Prague Spring that the Soviet Union had crushed in 1968.

***The Brezhnev Doctrine***

When internal and external forces hostile to socialism attempt to turn the development of any socialist country in the direction of the capitalist system, when a threat arises to the cause of socialism in that country, a threat to the socialist commonwealth as a whole – it becomes not only a problem for the people of that country but also a general problem, the concern of all socialist countries.

**Détente**

In the late 1960's and early 1970's the word Détente came to be used to signify the relaxing of tension in the Cold War. The USA and the USSR were not friends, but were less hostile. The Cuban Missile Crisis had shown how dangerous the Cold War was.



Both countries had come to accept each other's areas of influence in the world. However, the West still held fears that the Communist world would expand, particularly in Asia. In Vietnam the USA was assisting the South in its fight against the Communist North. But even here, it was becoming obvious by the end of the 1960's that this battle was not only costly but futile.

Various factors encouraged détente:

- Rising inflation and huge costs over the Vietnam War were crippling the American economy. The USSR needed to expand its world trade in order to improve living standards
- Both sides had stockpiles of weapons that could destroy the Earth many times over
- Both were worried about conflicts in the Middle East that would disrupt oil supplies.
- Both were worried about the growing power of China.
- President Nixon, taking office in 1969, was keen to talk with Brezhnev, and Brezhnev was keen to extend Khrushchev's policy of '*peaceful co-existence*'.

There had been agreements in the 1960's over nuclear weapons. In 1968, the USA, the USSR, and Britain signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, aimed at stopping the spread of nuclear weapons.

**F. HOW DID TENSIONS BEGIN TO EASE?**

Two decades after the Second World War, Soviet-American tension had become a way of life. Fears of nuclear conflict between the two superpowers peaked in 1962 in the wake of the Cuban Missile Crisis, paving the way for some of the earliest agreements on nuclear arms control. Although these agreements acted as important precedents, the U.S. escalation of the war in Vietnam increased tensions again and served to derail any efforts in the mid-1960s to pursue further arms agreements. By the late 1960s, however, both countries had several concrete reasons for resuming arms talks. The ongoing nuclear arms race was incredibly expensive, and both nations faced domestic economic difficulties. The emergence of the Sino-Soviet split also made the idea of generally improving relations with the United States more appealing to the USSR.

With both sides willing to explore accommodation, the early 1970s saw a general warming of relations that was conducive to progress in arms control talks. In practical terms, détente led to formal agreements on arms control and the security of Europe.

**SALT I and SALT II**

Talks began in 1969 to begin discussing potential limits on nuclear weapons. These talks led to the 1972 (May 29<sup>th</sup>) Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I), which froze the number of nuclear missiles on both sides at the current levels for five years. These agreements limiting nuclear weapons, contributed greatly to détente (the relaxation of Cold War tensions) during this period. These talks became more important as a political vehicle for improved relations than for its actual achievements in limiting the weapons of mass destruction.

Nixon's successor as president, Gerald Ford, met with Khrushchev's successor, Leonid Brezhnev, in Siberia to discuss more arms control. Ford laid the groundwork for SALT II, a second treaty which would be signed by Brezhnev and President Jimmy Carter in Vienna on 23rd November 1974, which further restricted the arms held by both nations.

Since SALT I did not prevent each side from enlarging their forces, SALT II initially focused on limiting, and then ultimately reducing, the number of nuclear weapons. Negotiations also sought to prevent both sides from making new breakthroughs that would destabilise détente.

**G. HOW DID BREZHNEV AND NIXON END THE COLD WAR?**

**Ping-pong diplomacy**

Soon the pace of détente was accelerating. Not only did USA agree that China should join the United Nations but also in April 1971, at the height of the Cold War, a group of ping pong players became the first Americans to visit Communist China. Their successful trip is often credited for reviving diplomatic relations between the two countries. This became known as 'ping-pong diplomacy'.

Less than a year after the outbreak of so-called "ping pong diplomacy", Richard Nixon travelled to Beijing as the first US president to visit the People's Republic of China.

**Brezhnev – Nixon Summits**

With the pace of détente still hurtling forwards, the relationship between Brezhnev and Nixon was growing stronger than ever. Between 1972 and 1979 Nixon and Brezhnev signed a total of 5 agreements in Moscow that curbed the arms race for the first time. These agreements called for peaceful co-existence, the avoidance of military confrontations, a joint space mission in 1975, increased trade links and cultural exchanges.

**Helsinki Agreement, 1975**

By 1975, the policy of détente was slowly deteriorating. Richard Nixon, under whose administration détente began, had resigned from office in disgrace, following the Watergate rumours, in August 1974.

In an effort to reawaken the policy of détente, President Gerald Ford joined with the Soviet Union and 32 European Countries in calling for a total of five summits in Helsinki in July 1975. They recognised the political borders of Eastern Europe and Soviet control over the region, whilst West Germany recognised East Germany. In addition, they agreed to co-operate through trade links and promote human rights. However, by the end of the decade cracks began to form in the U.S.-Soviet relationship.